

March 15, 1951

RECORDED - 133

INDEXED 133

V-56

40-3777-588

Mr. Julian Kahn  
93 Parker Avenue  
Maplewood, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Kahn:

Your letter dated March 10, 1951, together with enclosures, has been received in the absence of Mr. Hoover from Washington and I am taking the liberty of acknowledging it.

I know Mr. Hoover will appreciate the interest which prompted you to bring this material to his attention.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy  
Secretary

G.I.R.-2

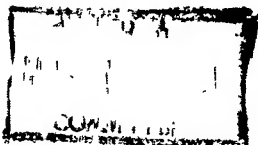
Enclosure is a reprint of an article entitled "The Contempt of Congress Issues" which appeared in The Sunday Compass, Sunday March 4, 1951, and requested contributions for trial expenses. In view of the rather curt remarks from the correspondent, it is believed an in absence reply is appropriate.

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Mr. Clegg  
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Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
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Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy  
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H. W. Gandy

**JULIAN KAHN**

**WHOLESALE FACTORY REPRESENTATIVE**

OFFICE  
206 LEXINGTON AVENUE  
NEW YORK CITY  
CA. 8-1160

93 PARKER AVENUE • MAPLEWOOD, NEW JERSEY  
PHONE SOUTH ORANGE 2-3887

3-10-51

F.B.I.

Washington D.C. -

Gentlemen

I don't know who <sup>you</sup> tell you  
me on Carl Browder making list.  
You can throw this away as well  
as I can

Sincerely

Julian Kahn

~~MAR 15 1951~~

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ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

EX. 56

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EX. 56

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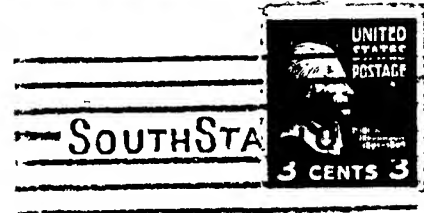
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40-3798-588




Julian Kahn  
93 Parker Ave.  
Maplewood, N.J.

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DATE 10/1/99 BY 

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EARL BROWDER  
7 HIGHLAND PLACE  
YONKERS, N. Y.

# THE SUNDAY COMPASS

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Sunday Mar. 4

## The Contempt of Congress Issues

By EARL BROWDER

A series of trials has begun in Washington in which the attempt is being made to imprison persons



for so-called contempt of Congress in refusing to answer questions before a legislative inquiry. The issues involved in these trials are vital to the preservation of civil liberties in America against the assaults of McCarthyism.

Most of the cases hinge upon the guarantee in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution against compelling persons to give testimony against themselves, the so-called "self-incrimination" clause. Since the Supreme Court only recently, in the *Blau* case, rendered a decision upholding the defense against such prosecutions provided by invoking the "self-incrimination" clause, it is strange and startling that the government, nevertheless, proceeds with the trials in many cases coming squarely under the *Blau* decision.

It might appear to the ordinary layman, who considers such questions in their practical effect upon daily life, that the Department of Justice is itself somewhat contemptuous of the Supreme Court by thus, in practice, nullifying the effect of the *Blau* decision. For, when citizens can gain the protection of the Constitution only through long and expensive trials and appeals, going clear up the Supreme Court in each case, then for the great majority to whom such procedures bring catastrophic hardship, the Constitutional protection has in fact been cancelled.

Among the many "contempt" cases coming to trial, there is one directed against myself. In this, the fundamental protection of civil liberties also is involved, though a different form.

When I was called before the Senate subcommittee hearings on Senator McCarthy's scandal against the State Department, I waived the protection of the "self-incrimination" clause of the Fifth Amendment for several reasons:

1—Because it was necessary to challenge head-on the perjured testimony of Budenz, to discredit that professional witness who was poisoning American public life—and that could not be well done if I took refuge against questioning.

2—It was advisable to bring out positive evidence, of historical importance about the real nature of Communist influence upon American foreign policy during World War II, as opposed to the McCarthy fairy tales about cloak-and-dagger conspiracies.

3—It was expedient to broaden the struggle against the abuses of Congressional hearings, due to McCarthyism, by challenging the whole method of "fishing expeditions" and "smear campaigns."

I claimed before the Senate subcommittee the right of a witness to have a voice on the pertinency of questions and on the propriety of certain lines of questioning. I took the position that an American citizen is not required to become a cringing slave at the command of any chance Hickenlooper who puts irrelevant questions to him, simply because he has been subpoenaed before a Senate committee. I flatly challenged Hickenlooper's method and line of questioning as a "fishing expedition" and therefore illegal.

At the same time, in answering fully some 300 questions not of that nature, I was able to contribute my bit to the general struggle against reaction in practical politics, outside the field of civil liberties. I considered it a most valuable recognition of my services in this respect, when Senator McCarthy, emerging from those hearings, told the Senate that "it frankly made sick way down deep inside, and I could not stomach it and left."

My defense against the charge of "contempt of Congress," when I come to trial shortly, will be based upon the inalienable right of every American citizen to feel contempt for McCarthy or any other public servant who acts in a contemptible manner. It will defend the right of citizens to be free from harassment by arrogant officials. If that is finally lost, the whole body of American civil liberties will have been lost with it.

EARL BROWDER  
7 HIGHLAND PLACE  
YONKERS, N. Y.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/1/99 BY [REDACTED]

March 3, 1951.

Dear Friend:

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I am scheduled to stand trial in the Federal District Court in Washington, D.C. on March 7, on the charge of "contempt of Congress".

On the other side of this letter is a copy of a short article appearing in THE COMPASS today, in which I describe the issues involved in the whole series of contempt trials now under way, and in which I tell how I will conduct my own trial in such a way as to broaden out these issues so as to challenge the whole outrageous system of harassment of progressives by the use of pretended "legislative inquiries".

None of the established organizations which deal with such matters have seen fit to offer me any support in this case. As I have neither money nor organizational backing, I am acting as my own lawyer. Even so, the expense of conducting the defense is considerable and far beyond my means. I am without financial resources, and quite dependent upon the help of a small circle of friends. The problem will become even more serious if the case has to be carried to the higher courts.

I have therefore reluctantly decided to issue this letter as an appeal to such progressives as I can reach, asking them to make financial contributions to the defense according to their abilities, and in return I will send to each contributor a copy of the record of the trial.

This battle is not a personal affair. It is part of the whole struggle against reaction. It furthermore has unique features which place it in the vanguard of that struggle, because I have not invoked the immunity against "self-incrimination" guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, but instead I am attacking the whole system of violation of the rights of citizens by power-drunk Congressmen of the type of the infamous McCarthy.

With your help, my trial can be turned into a heavy blow against the camp of reaction and war.

Hoping to receive your contribution, large or small, I remain  
as ever,

Yours in the fight for a progressive America,

*Earl Browder*

Earl Browder, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers 5, N.Y.

I am enclosing herewith \$ \_\_\_\_\_ as a contribution to your trial expenses.

A mark in this box ( ) means I wish to receive a pamphlet record of trial.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

40-3798-588

Assistant Attorney General, James M. McInerney  
Criminal Division

March 19, 1951

Director, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IRENE BROWDER, was.  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
FBI file 39-878

RECORDED - 38

EX-138

Reference is made to your memorandum of December 19, 1950, your reference 39-51-977, in which you requested that you be furnished copies of reports bringing the activities of Irene Browder and her husband, Earl Browder, up to date.

Attached is a copy of the report of SA J. Robinson Field, dated March 9, 1951, at New York, New York.

Our New York Office is now preparing a report covering the activities of Irene Browder and as soon as the report is received, you will be furnished a copy.

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]  
ON 4/15/82

Comp #213,770

Enclosure

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

NY FILE NO. **100-25693**

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>3/9/51</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>1/9, 10, 31; 2/2, 7-9, 13, 14, 23, 24, 26, 27/51</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>J. ROBINSON FIELD</b>
TITLE <b>EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</b>
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.			Class. & Ext. By <b>[redacted]</b> Reason: FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 Date of Review <b>4/15/92</b>
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Subject continues to reside with his family at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York. He is unemployed and supported by friends. Subject and others indicted by Federal Grand Jury, Washington, D. C., charged with violation of Section 192, Title 2, USC, on 11/27/50. Arraigned 12/1/50 and upon failure to plead, held under \$1,500 bond. Bond posted by MARGARET M. SHIPMAN on 12/7/50. BROWDER formerly expelled from CP-USA, still held in disfavor by present CP leaders. He occasionally writes on Party issues and criticizes present Party leadership in pamphlet, "In Defense of Communism Against W. Z. FOSTER's 'New Route to Socialism'". Informants and other sources negative.			
- P* -			
DETAILS: [Confidential Informant T-1, of known reliability,] has advised that the subject and his family continued to reside in Apartment 3F, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, and that neither he nor his wife appear to be employed.			
[Confidential Informant T-2, of known reliability,] advised that he has had no contact with the subject except for one occasion since the date of the last report. Informant further stated			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>[Signature]</i>		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau (40-3798) 3 - New York		DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <b>40</b> <b>589</b> RECORDED - 38 INDEXED - 38	
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**CONFIDENTIAL**

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that the subject and his wife were unemployed and are supported through the charity of friends, as previously reported. This informant further stated that the subject was even more discredited, if possible, by the present leadership of the CP-USA than ever before, and he did not think that BROWDER could be readmitted to the Party, both by reason of his past record and his continued opposition to the present Party leadership.

[Confidential Informant T-3, of known reliability,] (X)(u) has advised that during the time that EARL BROWDER served as General Secretary of the CP-USA, BROWDER, himself, was the Party functionary who acted as liaison between the open Party and the underground organization of the Communist Party. Informant further stated that either BOY HUDSON, Communist Party maritime functionary, or JACK STACHEL, member of the National Committee, CP-USA, would also be acquainted with this activity inasmuch as they were Party functionaries who were the closest to BROWDER.

The records of the Clerk's Office, United States District Court, Criminal Branch, reflect information under Criminal Case Number 1784-50 to the effect that the subject was charged with the violation of Section 192, Title 2, United States Code, on sixteen counts, and was arraigned on December 1, 1950 before Judge EDWARD M. CURRAN, United States District Court for the District of Columbia. BROWDER, at that time representing himself, refused to plead and was committed to jail upon failure to make bond in the amount of \$1,500, and was given until December 26, 1950 to further plead.

The above record also shows that subsequently one MARGARET M. SHIPMAN, [redacted], Washington, D. C., appeared on December 7, 1950 and posted the required \$1,500 bond in behalf of the subject. The subject was released on that date, giving his residence address as 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York.

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The charges above referred to, now pending against the subject herein, resulted from his testimony before the United States Senate Sub-Committee on Foreign Relations in Washington, D. C. on Thursday, April 27, 1950.

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This testimony and his refusal to answer certain questions propounded to him at that time resulted in a finding of Contempt of Congress voted by the above Committee, which led to the above indictment.

The Sub-Committee above referred to met at 10:30 a.m. in Caucus Room 318, Senate Office Building, pursuant to notice, with Senator MILLARD E. TYDINGS, Chairman of the Sub-Committee, presiding.

Pertinent excerpts from this testimony, as reflected by photostatic copy of a transcript of the same, are as follows:

On Page 1336 of the transcript of testimony the subject, in answer to qualifying questions asked by Senator TYDINGS, under oath stated that his full name was EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, that his present address is 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, and that he is unemployed.

On Page 1337 of the above transcript the following questions were asked by Mr. MORGAN, the attorney for the Sub-Committee:

Mr. MORGAN: Thank you. Perhaps we shall pursue it in this manner: In 1937, were you associated with the Communist Party in this country?

Mr. BROWDER: I was. I was the General Secretary.

Mr. MORGAN: I ask you if, in 1937, in the month of October particularly, a determination was made by the Communist Party relative to its policy or its approaches to the problem of China.

(Page 1338)

Mr. BROWDER: I would say that in 1937 I, in particular, as the Secretary of the Communist Party, was giving a great deal of attention to the question of China; very great events were taking place in China at that time that affected the fate of the entire world.

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Mr. MORGAN: At one time, I believe, Mr. BROWDER, and correct me if I am wrong please, you were a representative of the Communist International in China, is that correct?

Mr. BROWDER: Not exactly. I was in China in 1927, as a member of an international workers' delegation, under the invitation and personal auspices of ~~CHIANG KAI-SHEK~~. In that delegation, I represented the Trade Union Educational League of the United States.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. MORGAN: How long were you in China at that time, Mr. BROWDER, for the record?

Mr. BROWDER: I was in China for several months in 1927; and, for the largest part of 1928.

Mr. MORGAN: I would presume, as a result of that period in China, that you have had a rather constant and direct interest in China, is that correct?

(Page 1339)

Mr. BROWDER: I had a direct interest in China ever since.

Mr. MORGAN: Now, back to the question earlier suggested: During the year 1937, did you, as the Secretary of the Communist Party in this country, have called to your mind, or did you participate in a policy whereby the Communists of China were to be painted, let us say, in a new role as agrarian reformers?

Mr. BROWDER: No. I have no recollection of anything of the kind.

On the contrary, I recall very clearly that our pre-occupation with the problems of China at that time took the line of explaining to America, as thoroughly as it was possible for us to, that the Chinese Communists were leading the military

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struggle of Chinese people against Japanese invasion; that they represented the fighting section of the Chinese people; and, our policy was to urge the unity of all the national forces in China, together with the Chinese Communist forces for joint resistance to the invaders.

In the course of that policy, the Chinese Communists did represent fundamental agrarian reforms in China, and of course we tried to explain that as much as possible, also; but, that was in no wise the dominant character of what we had to say to America about China.

The main motif was military resistance to the invasion

(Page 1340)

of China.

Mr. MORGAN: I wonder if we could get that a little more specifically, Mr. BROWDER?

Am I to infer from your answer, that during the year 1937 there was the change along the lines which we have just discussed, that is, that the idea that the Communist Party of China was to be painted not as merely a Communist Organization, but rather as an organization, so it has been stated in testimony here, comparable to the North Dakota Non-Partisan League?

Mr. BROWDER: Yes. The reference to the North Dakota Non-Partisan Leaguers has no relation whatever to the policy of the Communists in the United States, in explaining the Chinese Communists. Certainly it could never occur to anyone in his right mind to try to compare the situation of the struggle in China to anything that existed in America.

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There was a change in the situation in China. There was not a change in the Communist Policy. There was a change in the situation in China in that the developments of the Japanese aggression called for new moves toward unity in China. The Communists took the lead in making those moves toward unity. They were joined in that by vast masses of the population and public figures in China and therefore something new entered the situation in that

(Page 1341)

national unity, to resist the invasion, became a practical issue where, before, it had been an abstract one.

Mr. MORGAN: We can be a little more specific. I would like to ask this question: As Secretary of the Communist Party, was it a part of your responsibility and function to endeavor to project, let us say, in your endeavors, a policy with respect to China?

Mr. BROWDER: That the Communists in the United States should urge a particular policy upon the government of the United States? Yes, that is correct.

Mr. MORGAN: Will you elaborate a little on that, please, as to how you proposed to carry that forward and how you did carry it forward?

Mr. BROWDER: We explained the position of the Communist Party in China, urging unity upon the Kaomingtang for a joint struggle against the Japanese invaders; and, we urged the United States to adopt a policy of encouraging such unity.

We insisted that this unity was not only necessary for the national salvation of China, but that it was further in the immediate and direct interests of the United States, and the only way in which the United States could protect and advance its own interests in China.

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Mr. MORGAN: I appreciate that answer. But I would like to know now, however: What methods, what instrumen-

(Page 1342)

talities did the Communist Party employ in projecting this idea?

Mr. BROWDER: The Communist Party employed instrumentalities of direct address to the people of the United States.

Mr. MORGAN: Through what medium?

Mr. BROWDER: Largely through the medium of my own speeches, as the spokesman of the Party; and, through the medium of the Daily Worker and the Communist, and such journals published by the Communist Party.

Mr. MORGAN: Did you employ, and I believe I am using an expression which you heretofore had used in hearings, Congressional hearings -- did you employ transmission belts in carrying this program forward?

Mr. BROWDER: I think that I have had occasion to explain before, in several hearings in Washington, that the term "transmission belts," which has been made the occasion of much mystification, simply means the utilization of every agency reaching the minds of the masses, that exists outside of one zone organization.

To me, this Committee here is my transmission belt to reach the public of America today, to defend the truth.

Mr. MORGAN: What other transmission belts did you use, Mr. BROWDER, in connection with this 1937 matter we are discussing?

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(Page 1343)

Mr. BROWDER: Every occasion for public appearance which I could find. If you want specific examples, - I made a speech along about that period in the Velodrome at Coney Island, in Brooklyn, New York, especially devoted to China at which about 12,000 people were present and which I read them messages from China, addressed to me by MAO TSE TUNG, CHOU EN-LAI and SHU TIEH, which puts forward the position of the Chinese Party, and which the Communists in America endorsed and urged it upon the attention of the United States.

Mr. MORGAN: Let us go at it this way, Mr. BROWDER. Are you familiar with an organization known as the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. BROWDER: I have heard of it, yes.

Mr. MORGAN: Was any effort made by the Communist Party to employ the Institute of Pacific Relations, and any publications of that organization, that that organization might have, to advance the policy that you say was the policy of the Communist Party with respect to China?

Mr. BROWDER: We never considered such a thing as practical, for any serious consideration at all.

Mr. MORGAN: Would you say that you did not employ the Institute of Pacific Relations for that?

Mr. BROWDER: I would say very definitely that we did not.

(Page 1344)

Mr. MORGAN: Did the Communist Party, to your knowledge, have individuals in the Institute of Pacific Relations or associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations, upon which you relied or depended or employed for the purpose of advancing this policy?

BROWDER: No, it did not.

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Mr. MORGAN: Now, I will ask you, Mr. BROWDER, and I am referring in this regard to testimony that has been received by this Committee from Mr. LOUIS F. BUDENZ, who has referred to a meeting held, to the best of his recollection, in October 1937, and I want to read a portion of that testimony to you, and I want to ask you some questions about it.

This appears on page 1040 of the record in this proceeding, and I quote:

"Around the Institute of Pacific Relations also was established the magazine Amerasia, of which Mr. JAFFE -- "

Do you know Mr. JAFFE?

Mr. BROWDER: I am acquainted with him.

Mr. MORGAN: " -- became editor, and which also was designed to influence Pacific Affairs.

"Mr. JAFFE and Mr. FIELD -- "

This is FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD. Do you know him?

Mr. BROWDER: I have met him.

Mr. MORGAN: "I might tell this Committee directly, to

(Page 1345)

my knowledge, are solely espionage agents -- FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD and PHILIP JAFFE.

"In this cell there was also OWEN LATTIMORE."

Do you know Mr. LATTIMORE?

Mr. BROWDER: I do not.

Mr. MORGAN: You have never met Mr. LATTIMORE?

Mr. BROWDER: I have never met Mr. LATTIMORE.

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Mr. MORGAN: Did you ever see Mr. LATTIMORE?

Mr. BROWDER: I have not, not to my knowledge.

Mr. MORGAN: "This I know from reports received -- " and I continue the testimony -- "in the Politburo, and given to me officially as Managing Editor of the Daily Worker. Mr. LATTIMORE, when I first learned this in 1937, was connected with the publications of the Institute of Pacific Affairs. In a specific meeting to which I refer, Mr. LATTIMORE was commended by FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD and EARL BROWDER for the fact that he had been responsible for the placing of the number of communist writers in the organs of the Institute of Pacific Affairs, of which he was then the editor."

Now, Mr. BROWDER, I ask you: Was there such a meeting, to your knowledge?

Mr. BROWDER: There was not.

Mr. MORGAN: Did you ever sit in a meeting in which Mr. FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD was present, you were present,

(Page 1346)

Mr. BUDENZ was present, and at which the name of Mr. OWEN J. ~~LATTIMORE~~ was mentioned?

Mr. BROWDER: There was never such a meeting.

Mr. MORGAN: You deny that categorically?

Mr. BROWDER: I deny it categorically. I declare it is false.

Mr. MORGAN: Now, I am reading from the testimony here on page 1041, again the testimony of Mr. BUDENZ, and I would appreciate your observation relative to it:

"In 1937, then, at a meeting called by EARL BROWDER, it was brought forward that we were now under instructions to name the Chinese Communists or represent them no longer as Red Communists, but we had formerly played them up as being the spearhead of

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"the revolution with their Soviet Army, the Red Army, and the like. But, we were to begin to represent them, as EARL BROWDER said, as North Dakota Non-Partisan Leaguers."

Did you, Mr. BROWDER, at this meeting, state that that should be the basis of representation of the Chinese Communists?

Mr. BROWDER: There never was such a meeting, and I never made such a statement and I never expressed such an idea in any form, public or private.

Mr. MORGAN: Pursuing it a bit further, this testimony is from the same page, 1041, of our record, and I quote:

(Page 1347)

"FIELD was present at that meeting," the same meeting which you deny occurred, "and made a report at which he commended Mr. LATTIMORE's zeal in seeing that Communists were placed as writers in Pacific Affairs and that this had been particularly noted during this last year 1937 and 1936. Mr. BROWDER also referred to that, and it was agreed that Mr. LATTIMORE should be given general direction of organizing the writers and influencing the writers in representing the Chinese Communists as agrarian reformers or as North Dakota Non-Partisan Leaguers."

Have you any observation to make concerning that testimony?

Mr. BROWDER: I would say that it is not only false, but it is utterly ridiculous that it is hard to imagine how even a professional perjurer could think it up.

Mr. MORGAN: Now, Mr. BROWDER, I am again referring to the testimony given to this Committee under oath by Mr. BUDENZ, as it appears on page 1042 of the record in this proceeding, and I quote:

"In regard to another event that I could testify to in 1943, at a regular meeting of the Political Bureau, at which Mr. BROWDER was present, and others whom I

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"could name, it was again officially reported that Mr. LATTIMORE, through Mr. FIELD, had received word from the apparatus that there was to be a change of line on CHIANG KAI-SHEK."

(Page 1348)

Do you recall any meeting of that kind, Mr. BROWDER?

Mr. BROWDER: Certainly not.

Mr. MORGAN: Do you recall of any reports having been given to you, or the organization of which you were Secretary at that time, relative to a Mr. OWEN J. LATTIMORE?

Mr. BROWDER: I never heard Mr. LATTIMORE's name mentioned in the Party circle, and in fact, I was familiar with it only through having noticed it in publications as the author of articles, now and then.

Mr. MORGAN: Reference has been made in testimony to some so-called onion skin reports received by the Communist Party wherein individuals were designated by symbols. It has been stated that such reports were received at Communist Headquarters in New York bearing the symbol, in one instance at least, perhaps in others "L" and "XL", designating Mr. OWEN J. LATTIMORE.

Do you deny that that is true?

Mr. BROWDER: It is quite strange to me, quite outside my experience.

Mr. MORGAN: You mean, no such reports were received?

Mr. BROWDER: I never heard of such reports, never saw such reports and I doubt the existence of such reports.

Mr. MORGAN: Was it customary, Mr. BROWDER, to have reports made in that manner on onion skin paper?

Mr. BROWDER: On Onion skin paper? Well, I certainly

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(Page 1349)

don't deny the existence of onion skin paper, in my office and every other office I ever had any connection with, usually used for manifold copies of letters, and so on, and for elimination of bulk in the storage of archives.

Mr. MORGAN: What I have in mind, Mr. BROWDER, is not just simply the matter of onion skin reports on onion skin paper. I mean, was it customary in the Communist Party to receive reports in which individuals were designated by symbols, rather than by name?

Mr. BROWDER: No, neither on onion skin nor bond.

Could I volunteer a further elaboration of an answer to a previous question?

Mr. MORGAN: Certainly, if you feel you want to explain any answer.

Mr. BROWDER: You raised the question of whether I received knowledge of a change pending in American policy toward China in 1943. I should inform you that, not in 1943 but in 1942 I did receive information about a change in American Policy toward China.

Senator TYDINGS: You mean, American or Communists?

Mr. BROWDER: The United States Government policies toward China. I received this information as a declaration that the policy was such and such, and that was a change, although the statement declared it was a continuation. This change in policy was given to me as a matter of information

(Page 1350)

by the Under Secretary of State, in whose office, in his office, in the State Department, where I visited on his written invitation to receive that statement of what the American policy toward China was.

Mr. MORGAN: Who was the Under Secretary?

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Mr. BROWDER: Mr. SUMNER WELLS. This was a matter of public knowledge. The newspapers were in the State Department at the time, and noted my visit; and, later I had a newspaper conference at which I gave them, in written form, the statement I had received from Mr. WELLS, and my own declaration on it, and I simultaneously transmitted that statement of U. S. Government policy on China to Madam ~~SUN~~ YATSEN, in Chungking, by cable.

Mr. MORGAN: I believe, Mr. BROWDER, that during the course of the war, the Communist Party, as such, was dissolved and replaced by an organization known as the Communist Political Association. That is, the designation was changed to Communist Political Association. Is that correct?

Mr. BROWDER: That is correct.

Mr. MORGAN: Now, I want at this point to read from the record in these proceedings, pages 1066 and 1067, again from the testimony of Mr. BUDENZ, and request your observation relative thereto, and I quote:

"As a matter of fact, EARL BROWDER dissolved the Communist Party and formed the Communist Political Associa-

(Page 1351)

tion in May 1944, and in doing so, explained to the National Committee that he did so under instructions in order to make America believe that communism was ceasing to be a factor in the scene and that thereby they could obtain acquiescence by America in a Red China and a Red Poland."

Do you care to comment concerning that statement?

Mr. BROWDER: I would state that it is ridiculous and false; and, I would elaborate that, if you wish.

It is certainly ridiculous to say that I, or any other of the leadership of the Communist movement in

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America, wish to create an impression that Communism was playing a lesser role in the United States. On the contrary, everything that we did was for the purpose of increasing and intensifying and strengthening the role of the Communists in the American public life.

We did not try to secure the adherence of American Government to a new policy on China by the moves which were made in the organization, and the name of the Communist organization, because the policy of the American government toward China had already changed before that, changed in 1942, and nothing that we did thereafter could possibly have any effect upon that question.

The change in policy of the American Government toward China was dictated, not at all by questions of internal policy within the United States, but was dictated by the

(Page 1352)

necessities of a global war in which it was necessary for the American Government to have a different policy toward the Communists in China; because otherwise it was impossible properly to prosecute the war against Japan.

The previous policy against the Communists in China had immobilized one million soldiers in the struggle against Japan, and thereby released a million Japanese to fight the Americans.

Senator TYDINGS: It has been called to my attention, Mr. MORGAN and Mr. BROWDER, that in the course of colloquy Mr. LATTIMORE has been once or twice referred to as "only LATTIMORE" and once or twice as "OWEN L.," or "J." or some other initial in the middle, before "LATTIMORE."

I am advised that Mr. LATTIMORE is "OWEN LATTIMORE," so I suggest, for the purposes of the record, you frame a general question to see if you are talking about OWEN LATTIMORE.

Mr. MORGAN: Very well, sir.

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Mr. BROWDER, let us proceed along this line.

No. 1: Do you know OWEN LATTIMORE?

Mr. BROWDER: I do not.

Mr. MORGAN: Have you ever heard reference, while you were in the Communists, of OWEN LATTIMORE, Doctor LATTIMORE, Doctor OWEN LATTIMORE?

Mr. BROWDER: I have not. I have never discussed

(Page 1353)

Mr. LATTIMORE, Professor LATTIMORE, or Doctor LATTIMORE with anyone in the Communist Party.

Mr. MORGAN: While you were in the Communist Party, would you have known individuals who were active in the Communist movement?

Mr. BROWDER: I would assume that anyone, of the prominence of Mr. LATTIMORE, I would certainly know.

Mr. MORGAN: Was Mr. LATTIMORE known to you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BROWDER: He was not. He was definitely known to me as a person of anti-communist views, of a very decided and profound character.

Mr. MORGAN: I have asked you earlier, Mr. BROWDER, about the Institute of Pacific Relations, and I think your observations are now in the record.

I would like to ask you if you are familiar or have been familiar with a publication known as Amerasia?

Mr. BROWDER: I am familiar with it.

Mr. MORGAN: I believe in, from 1937 to 1944, the chairman of the Editorial Board, of at least this publication, was a man named FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD. I believe that you testified that you knew Mr. FIELD?

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NY 100-25693

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Mr. BROWDER: I know Mr. FIELD.

Mr. MORGAN: Did you know or do you know Mr. FIELD to be a member of the Communist Party?

(Page 1354)

Mr. BROWDER: I would not be able to say definitely. I met him under the circumstances where we were cooperating and it never occurred to me to ask him if he was a member, because cooperation was complete at that time.

Mr. MORGAN: Did you accept him as a member?

Mr. BROWDER: I assumed he was, although I didn't know.

Mr. MORGAN: From 1937 to 1945, according to information available to the Committee, the Managing Editor of this magazine, Amerasia, was one PHILIP JAFFE. I believe you testified that you knew Mr. JAFFE.

Mr. BROWDER: I know Mr. JAFFE.

Mr. MORGAN: Now, you know Mr. JAFFE as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BROWDER: I did not.

Mr. MORGAN: In your association with him, did you accept him as a member of the Communist Party, and so consider him?

Mr. BROWDER: I accepted him as a friend.

Mr. MORGAN: Both Mr. FIELD and Mr. JAFFE have been identified by one witness in this proceeding as espionage agents for the Soviet Union. Do you deny that is true, or do you care to make an observation relative to that testimony?

Mr. BROWDER: I would consider that to be a slander, - to be false.

(Page 1355)

Mr. MORGAN: Would you say they were not Soviet espionage agents?

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Mr. BROWDER: To the best of my knowledge and belief, they were not, and are not.

Mr. MORGAN: Would you have known whether they were, or whether not, if they were?

Mr. BROWDER: I would not.

Mr. MORGAN: From 1937 to 1944, a member of the Editorial Board of the publication ~~Amerasia~~, was T. A. ~~BISSE~~ BISSON. Did you know Mr. BISSON?

Mr. BROWDER: No.

Mr. MORGAN: Have you ever heard of Mr. BISSON?

Mr. BROWDER: Oh, yes.

Mr. MORGAN: Was he known to you to be a Communist?

Mr. BROWDER: He was not.

Mr. MORGAN: Did you ever accept and receive him as such?

Mr. BROWDER: No.

Mr. MORGAN: Did the Communist Party in this country utilize Mr. BISSON in any manner?

Mr. BROWDER: No.

Mr. MORGAN: Have you ever had conversations with Mr. BISSON?

Mr. BROWDER: I believe I met him socially, but I wouldn't even swear to that, because I couldn't name the time and place; but, I have a faint recollection of having

(Page 1356)

met him at a cocktail party somewhere.

Mr. MORGAN: From 1941 to 1943, on the Editorial Board of this magazine was one WILLIAM W. ~~LOCKWOOD~~. Do you know him?

Mr. BROWDER: No.

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Mr. MORGAN: A contributor to this magazine was one EDWARD C. ~~CARTER~~. Do you know Mr. CARTER?

Mr. BROWDER: I have met Mr. CARTER.

Mr. MORGAN: Is Mr. CARTER a Communist, to your knowledge?

Mr. BROWDER: He is not.

Mr. MORGAN: Have you ever received and accepted him as a Communist?

Mr. BROWDER: I have not.

Mr. MORGAN: Has the Communist Party ever utilized Mr. CARTER, to your knowledge, in any manner?

Mr. BROWDER: You will have to explain how you mean "utilized."

Mr. MORGAN: I mean, Mr. BROWDER, has the Communist Party --

Mr. BROWDER: Did Mr. CARTER ever act under instructions of the Communist Party? He never did.

Mr. MORGAN: Would you care to elaborate a little more on just in what manner you knew Mr. CARTER, and your association with him?

(Page 1357)

Mr. BROWDER: I think that we had -- and I say "we" generally, Communists, had a common objective with Mr. CARTER during the war. I believe he was very actively associated with the Russian War Relief, and it was my task, as the Secretary of the Communist Party, to see that everyone who was influenced by us, gave every possible assistance to the Russian War Relief, of which I believe Mr. CARTER was the head.

Mr. MORGAN: Now, according to the information available to us, Mr. BROWDER, from 1937 to 1944, a member of the Editorial Board of this magazine was Mr. OWEN LATTIMORE. I believe you have observed on the record here that you did not know Mr. LATTIMORE and that he was not a Communist, to your knowledge. Is that correct?

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Mr. BROWDER: That is right.

Mr. MORGAN: From 1942 to 1944, a member of the Editorial Board of this magazine was one BENJAMIN KIZER. Did you know Mr. KIZER?

Mr. BROWDER: No.

Mr. MORGAN: Never heard of him?

Mr. BROWDER: I would say that the name didn't stick in my memory, if I did.

Mr. MORGAN: From 1941 to 1945, a member of the Editorial Board of this publication was one KATE MITCHELL. Do you know KATE MITCHELL?

(Page 1358)

Mr. BROWDER: I have met her.

Mr. MORGAN: Did you know her as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BROWDER: I did not.

Mr. MORGAN: From 1943 to 1944, a member of the editorial board of this magazine was one HARRIET MOORE. Do you, or did you know HARRIET MOORE?

Mr. BROWDER: Not to my knowledge. If I met her casually, it was not sufficient to stay in my mind at all. I doubt whether I ever met her.

Mr. MORGAN: A contributor to this magazine was one ANNA LOUISE STRONG. Do you know this individual?

Mr. BROWDER: I do.

Mr. MORGAN: Do you know this individual to be a Communist?

Mr. BROWDER: No.

Mr. MORGAN: Have you ever met ANNA LOUISE STRONG?

Mr. BROWDER: Oh, yes, I know her well. I have known her for 30 years.

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Mr. MORGAN: Would you care to make any observation concerning her association with the Party, and I would presume, Mr. BROWDER, that in your position, you would know individuals in the Party, at least those in the higher echelons?

Mr. BROWDER: I think that I would, if she had become

(Page 1359)

a member, and according to the best of my knowledge and belief, she was not a Party member. She was a good friend.

Mr. MORGAN: Now, for our record, Mr. BROWDER, would you indicate please, for us, the period of your association with the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. BROWDER: I was in prison when the Communist Party was formed in 1919, serving a sentence for opposing America's entrance into the First World War. As soon as I got out of prison, I joined the Communist Party, having been associated with the left-wing forces in the Socialist Party before that, which went to form the Communist Party. I was drafted, against my will, into the leadership of the Communist Party at that time, and took an active part in it thereafter, down to 1945.

Most of the time I was in a leading capacity, although I was away in Europe for a few years.

Mr. MORGAN: You separated from the Communist Party, you say, in 1945?

Mr. BROWDER: Actually, the technical separation took place, with my expulsion from membership, in February 1946.

Mr. MORGAN: Would you care, for the information of this Committee, to elaborate any on the occasion of your expulsion?

Mr. BROWDER: I doubt whether the Committee is interested in examining into the matters of the internal disputes in the Communist Party that resulted in my expulsion.

(Page 1360)

Mr. MORGAN: Well Mr. BROWDER, let us judge that, shall we; and, suppose you proceed and if we find that it is not relevant, we can --

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NY 100-25693

Mr. BROWDER: I have nothing to volunteer to the Committee on that subject.

Mr. MORGAN: You were expelled from the Communist Party.

Mr. BROWDER: I was expelled from the Communist Party in February 1946.

Mr. MORGAN: Did you resist expulsion?

Mr. BROWDER: I did.

Mr. MORGAN: Will you tell the Committee why you were expelled?

Mr. BROWDER: I have never been able to find out, sir.

Mr. MORGAN: Would you have this Committee seriously to believe that is the answer to that question, Mr. BROWDER?

Mr. BROWDER: Different people have different answers, and when there are so many different answers, it means that one who is searching for the truth has to suspend judgment until these different answers are reconciled.

Mr. MORGAN: Did you go to the Soviet Union shortly after the expulsion, or during the period your expulsion was being considered?

Mr. BROWDER: After, - after my expulsion.

Mr. MORGAN: Who directed your expulsion?

Mr. BROWDER: What?

(Page 1361)

Mr. MORGAN: Who directed your expulsion?

Mr. BROWDER: Who directed my expulsion?

Mr. MORGAN: Yes.

Mr. BROWDER: WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

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Mr. MORGAN: And, for the record, who is Mr. FOSTER?

Mr. BROWDER: He is the present leader of the Communist Party in the United States.

Mr. MORGAN: You, at the time, were Secretary of the Party, is that correct?

Mr. BROWDER: Technically I was in position of President of the Communist Political Association, when I was removed from leadership. When I was expelled from the Communist Party, I was a simple member without any position whatever.

Mr. MORGAN: Do I infer from that, that you are still a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BROWDER: No, I am not. I was expelled from membership in 1946. I was removed from all official leading posts in July 1945.

Mr. MORGAN: You say that Mr. WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was responsible for your expulsion. Would you care to indicate for our information how that expulsion was consummated? Did he merely advise you of that fact, or were there formal proceedings? How was it effected?

Mr. BROWDER: I would not care to go into that.

(Page 1362)

Mr. MORGAN: It might be helpful to us, Mr. BROWDER.

Mr. BROWDER: I doubt it, doubt it very much.

Mr. MORGAN: Well perhaps we can approach it in this manner: You did go to the Soviet Union following your expulsion.

Mr. BROWDER: I did.

Mr. MORGAN: What was the occasion of your trip to the Soviet Union?

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Mr. BROWDER: Oh, the occasion for my trip to the Soviet Union was the fact that I had been a close friend of the Soviet Union since 1921, and active advocate of better relations between the United States and the Soviet Union with, in some periods, some effect upon the situation; and, I considered that the occasion of my severance from the Communist Party made it advisable for me, in order to continue the previous relations that I had established over the course of years, to visit the Soviet Union, if possible, in order to see that my expulsion from the Communist Party here did not sever all my relations with persons in the Soviet Union which would extremely limit the effectiveness of anything I might do in America for better relations between the two countries.

I applied for a visa, and got it and therefore went to visit Moscow.

Mr. MORGAN: What did you find out relative to your

(Page 1363)

relations in the Soviet Union, Mr. BROWDER?

Mr. BROWDER: I found that in Moscow I was received as an old and trusted friend. I was given all hospitality of an old and trusted friend, and in the course of my visit there, it was proposed to me that I should accept a post of representative in America of the Soviet publishing houses, try to secure American publication of Soviet books. I accepted that proposal, largely because of the fact that it served as a confirmation of my main purpose in visiting there, of establishing that I had not broken my friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORGAN: You were thus received, despite the fact that you had only recently been expelled from the Communist Party in this country, is that correct?

Mr. BROWDER: Yes.

Mr. MORGAN: You accepted this employment, returned to this country as an employee of -- whom?

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Mr. BROWDER: No, not as an employee. I did not accept employment. I established a contractual relation with the Soviet Publishing houses whereby I acted in America as their business representative to negotiate the placing of Soviet books with American publishers, and for this service I was to receive a certain portion of the royalties on such books that were paid in America.

I was not an employee.

(Page 1364)

Mr. MORGAN: You were working on a percentage arrangement, was that the idea?

Mr. BROWDER: Yes.

Mr. MORGAN: Who financed the trip to the Soviet Union?

Mr. BROWDER: Various friends of mine.

Mr. MORGAN: In the United States?

Mr. BROWDER: In the United States.

Mr. MORGAN: Friends in the Communist Party?

Mr. BROWDER: I really should not have to answer such questions as that, I think.

Mr. MORGAN: You decline to answer the question?

Mr. BROWDER: It is not pertinent to your inquiry.

Mr. MORGAN: Mr. BROWDER, you say you are not now a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. BROWDER: I am not.

Mr. MORGAN: Are you today, ideologically a Communist?

Mr. BROWDER: Depending entirely upon your definition, and in America today nobody understands exactly what a Communist is, and many people even strongly suspect that the late President ROOSEVELT was a Communist.

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Therefore, the question is becoming meaningless in America.

If you want to know what political opinions, what my political opinions are, I will very gladly state them. They are essentially the same as they have been all my adult life.

(Page 1365)

Mr. MORGAN: Thank you. I think that is helpful.

Mr. BROWDER, do you know, or have you known a man named NICHOLAS DOZENBERG?

Mr. BROWDER: I would, at this point, want to say that if you are going to try to put upon the record here, the record of my trial and conviction for passport irregularity in 1940, you will have to do so without my cooperation.

Mr. MORGAN: Well, that was not exactly what I had in mind, but I think you have helped us in your answer to that, or your observation there.

During the course of the war, did you, as Secretary of the Communist Party in this country, receive letters and other communications from leaders of the Communist movement in China?

Mr. BROWDER: Yes, I did.

Mr. MORGAN: Were those communications that you received, the predicate for any official or unofficial action by the Communist Party in this country?

Mr. BROWDER: In my capacity as the Secretary of the Communist Party, and without consulting anyone else, I used information which I received from MAO T'SE TUNG, the head of the Communist Party in China, - of China, to inform the President of the United States about the military situation inside of China, placing at his disposal, information concerning the diversion of one million Chinese Government

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(Page 1366)

troops from the anti-Japanese front to the blockading of the communist territory.

Mr. MORGAN: Did you, while Secretary of the Communist Party in this country, take any part in the program which I believe is born out by records available to this Committee, of insistence, in the pages of the Daily Worker, that individuals write various officials of our government seeking to influence the policy in China?

Mr. BROWDER: I don't quite get your question.

Mr. MORGAN: I am asking you if the Daily Worker was utilized as a vehicle for the purpose of soliciting communications to officials of our government, with a view to influencing American policy in China?

Mr. BROWDER: I would assume so; but, if you would ask me to give specific instances, I couldn't. I would assume that that was done.

Mr. MORGAN: You mean you would not know that was done?

Mr. BROWDER: I could not name specific instances, but now that you raise the question, I assume that that was done. It was our purpose to stir up all sorts of political expressions of opinion in support of the Communists in China and support of unity in China, to influence the government in every possible way.

Mr. MORGAN: To influence the government, you say, with respect to unity in China, - unity between whom?

(Page 1367)

Mr. BROWDER: And, to take a different attitude toward specific Communists --

Mr. MORGAN: What attitude did you want to project, Mr. BROWDER?

Mr. BROWDER: Abandonment of the previous policy in which the influence of the United States Government was largely instrumental in maintaining and intensifying

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CHIANG KAI-SHEK's war of extermination against the Chinese Communists. We wanted that influence of America removed, and this influence to be exercised, on the contrary, in favor of unification.

Mr. MORGAN: I believe you have answered for us the principal matter in which we are concerned, Mr. BROWDER. At least you have given your testimony with respect to it --

Mr. BROWDER: I would say that further, in 1942, it became unnecessary any longer to bring such pressure upon the Government of the United States because the officially declared policy, from that time until 1946, was, the United States pressed upon China the coalition of the Kuomintang, the Communist, and all the democratic mass forces in one united government. From 1942 to 1946 that was the official policy of the American Government, and it was therefore no occasion for the Communists, I would say from 1942 to 1945, - the only period of which I can speak, - there was no occasion for the Communists to press for a change of policy in the

(Page 1368)

United States Government at that time.

Mr. MORGAN: There are a number of things, Mr. BROWDER, I know, that would have been of general interest to this Committee, and I do at this point, however, want again on the record, if I may have it, your answer to this question:

You have referred to a policy of the Communist Party in this country, which it sought to project with respect to China. I ask you again, what agencies, what instrumentalities, what methods, what procedures were utilized by the Party, when you were its Secretary, in order to accomplish the objectives which the Communist Party of this country had in mind?

Mr. BROWDER: We used all available channels of influencing the government, principally public speech, on issues of

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the moment, which illustrated and gave practical application to the policy that we were urging, in terms of general American interests.

We did not rely at all upon converting the people in the government to the support of Communism. We considered that that would be foolish and futile.

We based our efforts to influence the government, in terms of changing the attitude of policy makers entirely in terms of citing facts which proved that the interests of America required a different policy.

In the course of that, I also had occasion, without

(Page 1369)

publicity, to see that the information that I received from MAO T'SE TUNG in China, regarding the diversion of forces away from the anti-Japanese front, that this information was placed in the hands of the President, and I was informed that the information which was so given was confirmed by the American military high command as being correct, and I, therefore, assumed, without the knowledge, that this information played a decisive role in the reformulation of American policy toward China.

Mr. MORGAN:

Mr. BROWDER, perhaps I could make my question, what I have in mind, a little clearer in this respect: I hope you will correct me if I am wrong, but as I recall reading some testimony that you had previously given to a Committee of Congress, you referred to certain organizations as transmission belts of the Communist Party. In one instance, you specifically referred to, as I remember, the National Lawyers Guild as a transmission belt for the Communist Party.

Now, what I want to know is this: Did you, did the Communist Party in projecting its China policy, have any organizations which it sought to employ in projecting that policy?

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Mr. BROWDER: You are placing me again in the same position that I have been several times before, before investigating committees, and I never seem to be able to establish

(Page 1370)

this point, and each time I appear, I am quoted to myself as having said that this and that organization was a transmission belt; but, the fact of the matter is that at all times I have attempted to explain, and I will try now again to explain to you here, that the term "transmission belt", as Communists understood it was the utilization of every avenue of organized public relations, beginning with the government, beginning with congress, beginning with committees of congress and going down all the lines.

If you want to call any of the organizations a transmission Belt of the Communists, then you must begin, if you want to state it with understanding, with the same understanding which Communists had, when I was their leader, - that this Committee is acting as a transmission belt for the views of EARL BROWDER.

Mr. MORGAN: I think you have made that plain, sir.

Mr. BROWDER: I have said that the lawyers guild was a transmission belt in answer to a question, not volunteering that for illumination, but in exactly the same sense that I say to you now, your Committee is a transmission belt for me.

Mr. MORGAN: Back to the question, Mr. BROWDER: I would like to ask you again, if there were any organizations, as such, that the Communist Party sought to employ and utilize in projecting its China policy, - any organization whatsoever that you sought to influence.

(Page 1371)

Mr. BROWDER: We sought to influence every organization with which we came in contact.

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(Page 1372)

Mr. MORGAN: Was there any organization upon which you specifically relied, or particularly relied?

Mr. BROWDER: No, only our own Party.

Mr. MORGAN: Back to the Institute of Pacific Relations. Did the Party seek to have placed in the publications of the Institute of Pacific Relations articles that would be designed to project the Communist Party Program and the Line?

Mr. BROWDER: The Party, as an organization, never gave any attention to that problem. In saying that, I do not wish to say that no Communist ever wrote for it. That I do not know.

Mr. MORGAN: But you deny that the Communist Party, as an organization, did so?

Mr. BROWDER: Had nothing to do with it, no part of any general planned activity.

Mr. MORGAN: Was it a part of your individual plan, if not an organizational plan?

Mr. BROWDER: No.

Mr. MORGAN: It was not?

Mr. BROWDER: No.

Mr. MORGAN: Now, Mr. BROWDER, this Committee as you know, as I said earlier, has for its function, pursuant to a directive of the United States Senate, to inquire into charges of disloyalty in our State Department.

(Page 1373)

You were a high leader in the Communist Party of this country?

Mr. BROWDER: I was.

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Mr. MORGAN: I am wondering if you have any observations that will be helpful to the Committee incidental to its inquiry at this time?

Mr. BROWDER: Yes, I would be very glad to express an opinion.

Mr. MORGAN: Well, now, before you express your opinion, what I have in mind is: Have you any information or observations that would be of assistance to us in determining whether there has been, or are now disloyal people in our State Department-or Communists?

Mr. BROWDER: I had no reason at all; from my point of view, to think that there are any disloyal persons in the State Department, or any other important apparatus of the Government. I think that there have been in the past officials of the State Department who pursued policies which are detrimental to the interests of the United States, and I fought them openly and spoke against them. I found that in the most important cases those policies were remedied, and I never considered the persons who were responsible for what I considered bad policies to be disloyal; but I considered them very detrimental.

Mr. MORGAN: While you were the Secretary of the

(Page 1374)

Communist Party was an effort made by you, or by the Party to place members of the Party, or those that we might call fellow travelers in the State Department of the United States Government?

Mr. BROWDER: No.

Mr. MORGAN: You deny that any such effort was made?

Mr. BROWDER: I do.

Mr. MORGAN: Do you know now, or have you known in the past, of members of the Communist Party who have been in our State Department?

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Mr. BROWDER: I have not.

Mr. MORGAN: I do not like to ask these questions, Mr. BROWDER, but I intend to,

If you did know such Communists in the State Department, would you tell me whether you did or did not?

Mr. BROWDER: If I had incidentally known Communists in the State Department, I would not give you their names--no.

Mr. MORGAN: Would you tell me whether or not there were Communists in the State Department, to your knowledge?

Mr. BROWDER: Yes, I certainly--

Mr. MORGAN: Without giving names.

Mr. BROWDER: I certainly would not give names.

Mr. MORGAN: Do you deny there were Communists in the Department of State?

(Page 1375)

Mr. BROWDER: I would say, to the best of my knowledge and belief, there were not.

Mr. MORGAN: Now, I come back to the significant point of our meeting this morning, and again I want it on the record: It is your testimony, correct me if I am wrong, that you have never heard of, never met OWEN LATTIMORE?

Mr. BROWDER: That is correct. I have never met OWEN J. LATTIMORE. I have never heard him speak. I do not know him. I have had no connection, by correspondence, I have had no connection, through third persons.

Mr. MORGAN: Those are the only questions I have at this point, Mr. Chairman, and I may have some others later.

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The questioning at this point was continued by Senator HICKENLOOPER, a member of the Sub-Committee, which appears on Page 1376 as follows:

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: In response to a question by Mr. MORGAN, I believe that you said you received a statement of American policy from the Under Secretary of State, Mr. SUMNER WELLS, I believe at that time, on China and that you transmitted that declaration of American -- or Statement of American Policy toward China to Madam ~~CHIANG KAI-SHEK~~.

Mr. BROWDER: Madam SUN YAT SEN.

\* \* \* \* \*

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Was Madam SUN YAT SEN acting

(Page 1377)

in an official capacity at that time, for the Chinese Government?

Mr. BROWDER: I do not know what her official position was.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Were you by any chance the conduit, or transmission medium from the State Department to transmit American foreign policy to China at that time?

Mr. BROWDER: I received that statement from the State Department, with the understanding, directly expressed, that I was at liberty to publish it.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Yes.

Mr. BROWDER: And I took steps to publish it in America and I sent it to Madam SUN YAT SEN in the hope that it would be published in China.

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Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Yes. Now then, you have testified here, as I understand your testimony, in response to questions by Mr. MORGAN, that you worked ceaselessly over a period of years, perhaps beginning in the thirties, late in the thirties and continuing up until at least 1942, for the adoption of a definite policy on the part of the United States towards China, and the Chinese Communists.

Mr. BROWDER: That is correct.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: And you were working on that policy as a Communist policy, were you not? That was the

(Page 1378)

policy of the Communists that you were working on?

Mr. BROWDER: That was the policy of the Communist Party.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Then I believe that you said that in 1942, that policy upon which you had been working was adopted as the policy of the United States toward China.

Mr. BROWDER: I would not say that the policy that we had been urging, -- I would say that the central points of that policy, the central points of the withdrawal of the unconditional antagonism toward the Communists and the replacement of it and encouragement of unification in China, yes, that was identical with the policy of the Communist Party.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: So that you were successful in imposing upon or having accepted by the American Government, the Communist Policy toward China, so far as those particular principles are concerned?

Mr. BROWDER: I would say that it would be claiming too much to say that it was the Communist Party that was successful. I would say that the necessities of the successful prosecution of the war were recognized,

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and that Communists have the credit of having recognized them earlier than others.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: But, nevertheless, the views

(Page 1379)

advocated up to 1942, at least the substance of the important views advocated by the Communist Party up to 1942 were in fact adopted by the State Department, toward the Communists in China at about 1942-- is that correct?

Mr. BROWDER: In October, 1942.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: So, to that extent, regardless of the necessities of the situation or the explanations, you were successful or success met your efforts in getting that policy established?

Mr. BROWDER: The policy which we had advocated was substantially incorporated into the policy of the United States Government.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Now, Mr. BROWDER, have you at any time, either when you were a leader or the leader of the Communist Party of the United States, or held any other office in the Communist Party, or at any time, conspired, agreed with, or attempted to secure the transmission of information, secret information, classified either as Confidential, Restricted, Secret, Top Secret or any other restricted information, from American Government sources, either to the Soviet Government or any agents of the Soviet Government, or any people you believed to be agents of the Soviet Government?

Mr. BROWDER: I have not.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Have you ever delivered, or

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(Page 1380)

caused to be delivered any information of a classified nature belonging to the Government of the United States, to any person who was either an agent of the Soviet Government, a representative of the Soviet Government, or one that you believed to be an authorized agent or representative of this Soviet Government?

Mr. BROWDER: I have not.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Now, you visited Russia in 1946?

Mr. BROWDER: 1946.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: That was after your official expulsion from the Communist Party in this country?

Mr. BROWDER: That is right.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: I believe that you said you visited Russia in order to be reassured that your friendly relations, which you had before that time, were not impaired by your expulsion from the Communist Party in the United States, is that correct?

Mr. BROWDER: I would not put it in the way that you did. I do not think that that is entirely exact.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Please explain it to me again, then. I was trying to paraphrase what I understood you to say.

Mr. BROWDER: I have found that, in my political life, paraphrases are the most dangerous things in politics.

(Page 1381)

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: That is the reason why I am happy to have you put it in your own words again.

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Mr. BROWDER: Yes. I went to Russia because, over a period of years since 1921 I had been an active friend of the Soviet Union, in close contact with the Soviet Union, a student of the Soviet Union, educator in America on the understanding of the Soviet Union, and I certainly did not wish my difficulties with the Communist Party in the United States to end that relationship.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: During the period of time after you first joined the Communist Party, and up to the time of your expulsion from the Communist Party, had you been working for the end purpose of establishing international Communism in the world?

Mr. BROWDER: Now, there you are raising questions which involve the Communist doctrine and theory, and if you want to enter into that field, you will have a very interesting, but a very prolonged session of your committee that may last for years.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Well, we do not want to have this committee last for years, but I will ask you again whether or not you advocated the establishment of a Communist form of government in this country that took its direction and its policy from the Soviet Union, or the officials of the Soviet Union or the Communist Party in

(Page 1382)

Russia?

Mr. BROWDER: No, I never advocated such a thing, never believed in it and in fact, if I had advocated or believed in such a thing, I would have found myself in fundamental theoretical conflict with JOSEPH STALIN, and that I avoided because I respected his theoretical ability. Just as STALIN wrote and I studied his writings very carefully, that he would have nothing but contempt for the leaders of any other country who accepted orders from Moscow.

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Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Does that include TITO?

Mr. BROWDER: Again I would say that if you want to place the question of Yugoslavia, and its relations to the Soviet Union, on the agenda of this committee, I will be entering into that; but, only with the understanding that you go through to the conclusion; but, if it is going to be incidental, and by-the-way, I have no observations to make on it.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Now, when you visited Russia in 1946, I believe you said that you found your associations and acquaintances had not been substantially impaired by the expulsion from the Communist Party.

Mr. BROWDER: I didn't say that.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: What did you find?

Mr. BROWDER: I said I found I was received as an

(Page 1383)

old and trusted friend.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: And it was suggested to you that you take this position as a representative of the Soviet Publishers in this country?

Mr. BROWDER: Yes.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: And you did take such position?

Mr. BROWDER: I accepted that proposal.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Are you still working in that capacity?

Mr. BROWDER: I am not. I cancelled that contract last July.

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Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Have you ever, at any time, received instructions as to how you should proceed, ideologically or politically in this country from Moscow, or the authorities in Moscow, or any representative that you believed to be authorized to speak for them?

Mr. BROWDER: I never did.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Have you ever communicated with Moscow, or any authorities of Russia that you believed to be authorized to speak for the Russian Government, - have you ever received or have you ever communicated with any of those people at any time, requesting advice and information as to what position the Communists in America should take?

Mr. BROWDER: Oh, yes; not of the Government but of

(Page 1384)

the Russian Communist Party. Throughout my experience as a leader in the Communist movement, I always sought every possible occasion for consultation with the Russian Communist Party, its responsible leaders, and discussed with them problems of the world and of America.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Is Communism an international conspiracy to overthrow the present Government of the United States, and its form and systems?

Mr. BROWDER: Communism is not a conspiracy. Communism is a body of political views, an understanding of history, and a program of how to meet the problems of the next steps forward in the progress of history.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Is it a part of the principles of the Communist Party of the United States to overthrow the existing Governmental forms of the United States, under our Constitutional System?

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Mr. BROWDER: I will have to remind you, whenever I am faced with such a question, that I am not an official spokesman for any organization. I can speak for no one but myself. I am unaffiliated, an unaffiliated individual. Therefore, when you ask me about what any organization stands for, I can only give you an expression of personal opinion.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Then, in order to take it out of the realm of personal opinion, let us revert to

(Page 1385)

the time when you were an official of the Communist Party in this country, and your knowledge was then official as to the Communist Party.

What would your answer be?

Mr. BROWDER: I would say that the Communist Party was not a conspiracy for the overthrow of the existing government of the United States.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Do you know Mr. JAMES S. ~~ALLEN~~, a writer?

Mr. BROWDER: I do.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Do you know whether or not Mr. ALLEN is a Communist, or ever has been?

Mr. BROWDER: Yes, he is.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Have you ever met ALGER ~~HISS~~?

Mr. BROWDER: I have not.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: During the time that you were head of the Communist Party, or a prominent official in the Communist Party in the United States, did you know whether or not ALGER HISS was a member of the Communist Party, or considered to be a member of the Communist Party?

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Mr. BROWDER: I would say that I never even heard the name "HISS" in such a way as to fasten it in my memory, until I was visited by agents of the FBI and asked to identify his photograph as someone that I knew; and later on when HISS was in the public eye, I learned that

(Page 1386)

photograph was his.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Yes, and when you saw that photograph, did you recognize the photograph as one whom you had known?

Mr. BROWDER: I had never seen him before, and I tell you now that I had never heard his name before, in the way in which it would impress itself on my memory.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Did you know WHITTAKER CHAMBERS?

Mr. BROWDER: I did not.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Did you at any time, while you were an official of the Communist Party, know whether or not WHITTAKER CHAMBERS was a member of the Communist Party, or considered a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BROWDER: I knew that WHITTAKER CHAMBERS had been a member of the Communist Party in the early 1920's. He disappeared, and I assumed that he was out of the Party, and I still so assume.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Did you at any time while you were an official of the Communist Party of the United States, ever receive, directly or indirectly, funds or the equivalent of funds or money or the equivalent of money, from the Communist Party of Russia, or the Russian Government, or any agents of either of those, or persons that you believed to be reliable agents of either of those?

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(Page 1387)

Mr. BROWDER: Yes. I have expended money on behalf of Communists in other countries and received that money back from them.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: When you say "in other countries," you mean you have expended it in the United States and received it from other countries?

Mr. BROWDER: Not necessarily in the United States. The main occasion on which questions of funds were involved, were in connection with the Chinese Civil War. During the Chinese Civil War, in the course of helping to organize the American section of the International Brigade that fought on the side of the Republic, against the Fascist Invasion, I had occasion to get money from sources abroad.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: What were those sources?

Mr. BROWDER: I do not know, in detail; and if I did know, I would not tell you.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Why not?

Mr. BROWDER: Because I would not, under any circumstances, create problems in 1950 for any individuals who had part in helping fight the Fascist Rebellion in Spain in 1936 and 1937.

Many people helped in that work, and I would not give any detailed information which in any way would help the enemies of the Spanish Republic to persecute those people for the part that they played in trying to prevent the

(Page 1388)

victory of the Fascist dictatorship in Spain.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: We may reach that situation a little later, but, Mr. BROWDER, have you received, while in this country, any money from the sources which I men-

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tioned in my question a moment ago, from either--

Mr. BROWDER: I have received--

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: -- from either the Communist Party of Russia, the Communist government of Russia, or any agent that you relied upon as being an authoritative representative of either of those?

Mr. BROWDER: You mean, for the purpose--

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: I say money or funds or things of value that can be converted into money.

Mr. BROWDER: For the purpose of financing the Communist movement in the United States?

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Well, first, have you received any funds while in the United States, outside of the question of support of the Spanish Revolution, have you received those funds for any purpose?

Mr. BROWDER: I have never received funds from abroad for the purpose of promoting the Communist movement in the United States.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Have you ever received funds from abroad, from either the Communist Party of Russia or the Government of Russia, or any agents or persons that

(Page 1389)

you believed to be authoritative agents or representatives, for the purpose of publications in this country, for the purpose of hiring people for work in this country, or for any other purpose?

Mr. BROWDER: I would not be able to answer that categorically, because as a matter of fact, there have been occasions on which I have acted in the capacity

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of securing the publication of journals in America which were organs of international organizations and paid for by international organizations.

But, I would say that for all of the normal work of the Communist movement in America, as such, I have never received funds from abroad from any source.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Have you ever received funds in this country that did not come directly to you from abroad, but that came from persons who represented themselves as being agents, or reliable representatives of either the Communist Party in Russia, or the Government?

Mr. BROWDER: No.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Have you ever had any conferences, while you were an official of the Communist Party in this country, in the Russian Embassy in Washington, or in the official Russian Consulates at any other place in the United States with regard to Communist activities in this country?

(Page 1390)

Mr. BROWDER: As a matter of fact, I always felt very slighted that I never received any of the invitations to the gatherings at the Russian Embassy in Washington, and it was a little bit of a grievance on my part, when so many other people could go there, I never could understand why I couldn't, too; but Russians lean over backwards.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Mr. Reporter, would you read that question to the witness?

(The question was read as follows:)

"Senator HICKENLOOPER: Have you ever had any conferences, while you were an official of the Communist Party in this country, in the Russian

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"Embassy in Washington, or in the official Russian Consulates at any other place in the United States with regard to Communist activities in this country?"

Mr. BROWDER: I have not.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: I believe you said that you knew FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD?

Mr. BROWDER: I have met him.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: How long have you known Mr. FIELD?

Mr. BROWDER: I think that the first time that he stands in my memory with any clarity is about 1940.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Have you ever been in Mr. FIELD's home in New York?

(Page 1391)

Mr. BROWDER: Oh, yes.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Had Mr. FIELD ever met with you in the building occupied by the Daily Worker in New York, while you were a member of the Party?

Mr. BROWDER: No.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Has Mr. FIELD ever, so far as you know, been in the building or in the offices of the Daily Worker, while you were a member of the Party?

Mr. BROWDER: I never saw him there, never met him there.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Did you ever give, or assign, while you were a member of the Party, FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD to any special mission for the Communist Party?

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Mr. BROWDER: Never.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Did you ever assign Mr. FIELD at all, or request to undertake any espionage missions for the purpose of ascertaining secret information for you?

Mr. BROWDER: I would give you the general statement that I never have assigned or requested anyone to perform espionage.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: Do you know ~~TUNG PI WU~~, the Chinese Communist leader?

Mr. BROWDER: I do.

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: When was the last time you conferred with him, or saw him?

(Page 1392)

Mr. BROWDER: I met him in New York when he was on his way to the conference that founded the United Nations. He was a member of the Chinese Government Delegation.

There followed at this point in the testimony a refusal by the subject to answer a question by Senator HICKENLOOPER as to whether he had attended a meeting with FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD and a member of the Chinese Government Delegation previously referred to. The subject also refused to answer a question as to whether he knew Mr. ~~SERVICE~~ of the State Department. He also stated that he did not know Mr. JOHN CARTER ~~VINCENT~~.

On Page 1396 of the transcript, BROWDER stated that he would not answer any questions regarding his meeting with TUNG PI WU beyond the fact that it took place. He also subsequently refused to answer various other specific questions pertaining to this meeting.

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On Page 1398 of the transcript, the following testimony appears:

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Do you know a J. ~~PETERS~~, just the initial "J" PETERS?

Mr. BROWDER: I do.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Can you tell me what his functions were in the Communist Party?

Mr. BROWDER: He was a minor functionary, - I could not describe his functions in detail.

On Page 1399 the further testimony appears regarding initial "J" PETERS:

\* \* \* \* \*

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Did you give him an espionage mission at any time or request him to surreptitiously, or otherwise, acquire secret information for you?

Mr. BROWDER: No.

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Did you ever receive or accept any instructions from him to you, to perform an espionage mission, or to acquire secret government information?

Mr. BROWDER: I would like to expand that answer to apply not only to Mr. PETERS, but to all other persons that might be subject to the same questions, -- that in my function as the Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, I received instructions from no individuals whatever.

\* \* \* \* \*

Senator  
HICKENLOOPER: Did you ever work for or with the Comintern, or any of its branches in China when you were a young man?

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Mr. BROWDER: No. I worked in China for the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. I was General Secretary of that Trade Union Organization, with headquarters in China.

(Page 1400)

Senator

HICKENLOOPER: And as such, did you work with the Communist Movement in China at any time?

Mr. BROWDER: Oh, yes, I worked very closely with the Chinese Communists.

There followed at this point a question by Senator HICKENLOOPER asking the subject how many times he had been outside the territorial limits of the United States since he joined the Communist Party in 1921. BROWDER estimated that he had made 18 or 20 trips outside of the United States since that time.

On Page 1401 of the transcript, testimony is given by the subject to the effect that he had met ELIZABETH GENTLEY and had known her not as a Communist, but as a secretarial employee. He also stated that he had never given any espionage assignments to her. He also stated, on Page 1402 of the transcript, that he had known a man by the name of GOLOS.

On Pages 1402 and 1403 of the transcript, the subject advised that on his last trip to Russia he had occasion to talk with MOLOTOV, the former Foreign Minister, and ASSOVSKY, Chief of the Information Bureau. He said that he was not invited to the Communist Party headquarters while there. He also stated, in answer to specific questions, that he had met other leaders of the Communist Party while there, but refused to give their names.

On Page 1404 of the transcript, BROWDER refused to answer whether he knew ABE FLAXER other than to say that he recognized the name as a leading member of a trade union, and stated that he would not answer any questions as to his knowledge of any trade union leader. He also refused to state whether he knew Judge DOROTHY KENYON or HALDORE MANSON. The subject, at this point, also protested as to the propriety of the above questions. He also refused to answer specific questions

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as to whether he knew ~~NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER~~, ~~WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMANN~~, ~~HARRY BRIDGES~~, ~~JOHN ABT~~, ~~NATHAN WITT~~ and ~~ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS~~. He also refused to answer other specific questions as to the identity of persons at various meetings attended by he and ~~LOUIS BUDENZ~~.

On Page 1408 of the transcript of testimony, the subject was asked whether he had ever been directed to perform any mission for the acquisition of secret information for the Communist Party by Mr. STACHEL, and BROWDER stated that he, as General Secretary of the Party, received no instructions or directions from anyone and was an independent executive responsible only to the Executive Committee of the CP-USA. He also denied, in this connection, that he had ever received instructions from Moscow, either from the Communist Party or the Communist Government, at any time.

Subsequently during the testimony, as reflected on Page 1416 of the transcript, upon the intercession of the Chairman of the Sub-Committee, Senator TYDINGS, the subject was persuaded to answer the questions previously propounded to him regarding ~~DOROTHY KENYON~~ and ~~HALDORE HANSON~~. His answer, reflected on Page 1417 of the transcript, was to the effect that he would answer without the slightest hesitation that neither one of these individuals, during his period of leadership in the Communist Party, had any organized connection as members or friends of the Party.

During the course of the testimony reflected by the transcript of same on Pages 1427 through 1429, the subject, upon the intercession of Senator TYDINGS, Chairman of the Sub-Committee, answered, in reference to Mr. VINCENT and Mr. SERVICE, that to the best of his knowledge and belief they had never had any direct or indirect connection with the Communist Party.

The above answer concluded the subject's testimony and the hearing was adjourned at 1:10 p.m. on April 27, 1950.

The subject is referred to by ~~LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ~~, a former member of the Communist Party and editor of the "Daily Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper, in his book, "Men Without Faces". The following information regarding the subject is set forth on the respective pages as follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Page 36

Information is set forth to the effect that during the Spanish Civil War, STEVE NELSON, a secret agent of the Soviet underground, rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and the author states that he heard much about his courage and his ruthlessness in stamping out Trotskyites for the Secret Police. He writes that upon NELSON's return in late 1937, he was given "pre-eminence as a member of the National Committee", which was an unusual procedure to distinguish men who had performed exceedingly valuable Red deeds.

"The suggestion for conferring this honor was made by EARL BROWDER at the National Committee meeting in New York. Then the undisputed head of the Communist machine, BROWDER spoke in glowing terms of NELSON's 'great services, great heroism and exceedingly diligent work in uprooting anti-Party elements in the Republican ranks.'"

Page 45

BUDENZ, in referring to the passage of the VOORHIS Act in 1940, which provided for the registration of all foreign agents, states that the Party leaders were greatly perturbed. He explains that the leaders found a quick way out of this difficulty through its legal advisers headed by the late JOSEPH BRODSKY, and held a special National Convention in New York City to "disaffiliate" from the Communist International though still retaining the name of Communist Party.

"I was a member of the National Committee to which BROWDER reported on this step before it was taken. He emphasized then that it was being done for legal and protective reasons only, and that our 'internationalism' and 'learning from the model Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,' would remain as strong as ever."

Page 79

"It is true that on the Inner-Party Commission which worked with the Comintern representative there were two native-born Americans. The first of these was EARL BROWDER and the second was EUGENE DENNIS. But the chief reason for their

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"inclusion, as I learned, was their conspiratorial work with the Communist International Apparatus abroad. In China and India, for example. This had given them, as BITTELMAN once explained, the intimate association with the underground machine, and specifically with the Soviet Secret Police, that was indispensable in the Commission's work."

Pages 102-04

Mr. BUDENZ refers to a meeting of the National Committee held in Chicago the Labor Day weekend of September 1939. He refers to this meeting as the only session, enlarged or otherwise, of the National Committee ever held outside of New York City during the ten years he was connected with the CP-USA. He states that it was called in Chicago for the purpose of allowing more of the "comrades" from the isolationist Middle West to be on hand, since the original purpose of the meeting was to organize the infiltration of organizations in the corn belt in an effort to offset the isolationist sentiment there. He explains that STALIN had recently discovered that HITLER was a threat to the Soviet dictatorship and that the assignment of the Communist Party in this country from Moscow was to stimulate American friendship for Soviet Russia and American hatred for HITLER.

"The ninth floor had labored for some weeks on the speeches to be made and the resolutions to be adopted at Chicago. Outlines of what BROWDER would say and of the proposed resolutions were carefully mailed in advance to all the leading comrades, so that they would be able to drive the line home in their own reports. Suddenly a political atom bomb hit the little Kremlin. STALIN signed a pact of friendship with ADOLF HITLER just a few days before the Chicago sessions opened."

He further writes, in substance, that it was a tense crowd of 300 people who met in the large hall in Chicago for the plenum. They were to hear BROWDER as usual tell them what the line was. He had spoken to more than 15,000 people at Soldiers Field the night before.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Both at the stadium and in his report to the plenum, BROWDER defended the Soviet-Nazi Pact and urged the United States



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"to 'cooperate with the energetic peace efforts of the Soviet Union.' Their path was not made smoother by the Nazi invasion of Poland, which occurred while their discussions were going on. Starting with FOSTER and with ~~CHILDS~~, the Chicago leader, a number of the comrades did begin to label the war as 'imperialist', but most of them, noting that BROWDER had not yet laid down a complete pro-HITLER line, contented themselves with quoting STALIN's famous words, that the Soviet Union would not pull anybody's chestnuts out of the fire."

\* \* \* \* \*

"While everybody put up a stereotyped front, and the usual unanimity prevailed, the uncertainty in BROWDER's utterances caused whispering among knots of comrades at the end of each session. They all felt that sufficient instructions had not yet been received from the Soviet capital, and that the line would undergo further development within a few days. Some of them came out to my house on Saturday night, to engage in nervous speculation about what might be afoot. The Marxist-Leninist analysis had indeed failed them. They were far from being the exact scientists they always proudly declared themselves to be."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Another enlarged plenum of the National Committee which remains in my memory is that of December, 1940. HITLER had attacked Soviet Russia and the Reds were crying for America to enter the war. The meeting at the Fraternal Club House was the largest that had been held since the Chicago gathering. BROWDER was in prison for passport perjuries, but the Party was beginning to feel that pro-Russian publicity was permitting it to 'come out of the underground' as FOSTER stated in his preliminary report. He now had to serve as the leader, in BROWDER's absence."

The author writes that the "agrarian reformers" idea had begun to spread and had taken deep root in leading far eastern cultural groups in the United States. He states that this idea had also spread to certain policy making circles in the State Department and was given a prominent position in the American press. He also writes that as a result of this publicity the "Reds" pressed it with all the intensity and shrewdness of which they were capable.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Page 262

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"Later on BROWDER was to state to the National Committee (of which I was a member) that the 'winning of a Red China is a matter of life or death, and is the special assignment of the American Party.'"

"It was BROWDER who directed the new Chinese policy. Having served two years in China as a Comintern representative, he was a Red authority on that country. Ostensibly, back in 1927, he was one of a three-man International Workers Delegation to China, composed of himself, TOMMANN of England and JACQUES DORIOT of France (DORIOT later renounced Communism). Actually, BROWDER's job in China had been to undermine American prestige by shouting about the evils of 'the dollar republic' and its sins as 'the exploiter of all countries.'"

SA HERBERT B. GRANT purchased a pamphlet from the subject which was written by BROWDER, entitled "In Defense of Communism Against W. Z. FOSTER's 'New Route to Socialism'".

The subject, in this pamphlet, attacks the present leadership of the CP-USA, under WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Chairman, particularly in reference to the defense of the Communist Party which was directed by FOSTER during the recent trial of the Communist leaders, CP-USA, who were prosecuted under the SMITH Act.

He states in this pamphlet that the indictment of the Communist Party of America and its leaders by the Federal Government on the charge of conspiracy to advocate its violent overthrow was a mark of extraordinary boldness in the reactionary camp, that never before had the reactionaries ventured any major effort to outlaw the CP-USA by action in the courts, had attempted to avoid this step even when the Communist Party, itself, had challenged the government for a legal showdown. He cites as an example of this the decision rendered by the Supreme Court in the SCHNEIDERMAN case, wherein the court refused to pass on the legal status of the Communist Party although requested to do so.

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He further writes that one of the principal issues involved was that the trial was another aspect of the "cold war". He also states that an issue in the case was the question of the relation of democracy to Communism and that its supporters in every walk of life had the duty to make clear for the public that democracy cannot survive a general crusade for the destruction of Communism, that non-Communist democracy needs peaceful and cooperative relations with Communist democracy. He states that the defendants in the above trial had the responsibility of properly placing the major issues before the court and that this responsibility had not been met.

He further writes: "The ineptness of the conduct of the defense in court could be criticized in great detail. But there is little point in this, because the chief leader of the Party, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, has written and published a book about the issues of the trial, which exposes with pitiless clarity the fountain-head and source of all the failures of the defense."

He continues in the criticism of FOSTER's book above referred to, which is entitled "In Defense of the Communist Party and the Indicted Leaders", stating that it represents a fundamental departure from Marxist theory and is profoundly revisionist. He further states that Communism cannot be defeated by anti-Communist theories and that for him to remain silent in the face of FOSTER's attempt to reshape the fundamental theories of Marxism would place him in the position of an accomplice of this revisionism.

Under the sub-head, "FOSTER's Revisionist Theory on 'Violence'", the subject writes that Marxism, the theoretical foundation of the Communist movement, is the scientific understanding of history, and gives a thorough explanation of the role of violence in historical changes. He states that Marxism is not required to produce new and distinctive theoretical principles governing the practical application of violence in the establishment of democratic and progressive governments, since such principles were already established in the teachings and practice of the best representatives of democracy in the 18th century, and not least in the American Revolution and writings of JEFFERSON.

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He also writes that the minimum task required of the defense in the Communist trial is to refute the indictment in terms of American experience, which is incorporated in the American democratic tradition, and to add as much of the Marxist deepening of this question as the exigencies of the trial permit.

He states that unfortunately during the trial of the above case, FOSTER had tried to improve upon the classic Marxist position on violence and had claimed that a new position regarding the Party's position on violence had been adopted.

"The answer must be: No, there has been no such change. The charges of 'force and violence' directed against the Communists, insofar as such charges are based (as are the charges of the present Trial) on the general teachings of Marxism, were exploded almost 100 years ago by Marx himself before a German Court, have been exploded again and again since then in almost every modern country, throughout the intervening period, on the same principles Marx then expressed. It requires nothing new in the Communist position, introduced in 1935 or any other time, to 'explode' the Prosecution's charges today."

He states that the method in which FOSTER "thinks up" new arguments supposedly to strengthen the defense against the "force and violence" charge is a characteristic weakness of FOSTER, as well as all non-Marxists.

In referring to a portion of FOSTER's pamphlet entitled "The Uneven Development of the Struggle for Socialism", BROWDER states that regardless of whether this theory is correct or incorrect, it has no relevance to the prosecution's charge and to make it the defense of those accused simply means that 100 years of Communist theory and practice mean less to FOSTER than his own latest theoretical invention. He notes that this theory is used by FOSTER to evade the issue of violence and is therefore weakening to the defense.

In discussing this further, BROWDER writes: "In this complicated construction of ideas, the violence issue disappears, dissolved into thin air, by a complete avoidance

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"of the problem of the transfer of power from one class to another. FOSTER has invented an entirely 'original' theory, according to which the task of introducing Socialism is no longer undertaken by the Communist Party, but is handed over to the Progressive Party headed by HENRY WALLACE. This Progressive Party is going to win control of the Government, says FOSTER, by the established electoral processes and on a simple democratic platform, but once in office, and under attack by the reactionary camp, it will turn to Socialism in order to survive; its decisions will be law, and opposition to them will be outlawed. Therefore, any force and violence that appears will be the illegal revolt of the reactionaries and its legal suppression by the Progressives-turned-Communists. 'Obviously', concludes FOSTER, 'this policy does not advocate the forceful overthrow of the Government of the United States.'"

Under the heading, "What is the Revisionist 'New Route to Socialism'?", BROWDER states that before FOSTER discovered the "new route", the old Marxist road to Socialism, according to FOSTER's description, consisted in "fighting directly for the proletarian dictatorship and Socialism" under conditions in which "it was impossible for workers to secure legally elected governmental majorities in the face of the employers' violence."

He also refers to FOSTER's pamphlet in which FOSTER explains that in the early 1930's a new situation emerged in which a peaceful shift of governmental power from the bourgeoisie to the working class became possible, with a resultant peaceful transition to Socialism. FOSTER is further referred to as stating that this movement made it possible "legally to elect peoples' front governments on anti-Fascist programs." He further refers to FOSTER's pamphlet as follows:

"'With the state power in their hands'", says FOSTER, they are "'able legally to initiate these socialist transition measures'", (p. 39) "and the new Socialist State finds itself in power without ever having had to fight for power. Opposition to the new system of Socialism is made illegal, and if necessary is legally suppressed by the established government. This is, says FOSTER, "What has been called a new route to Socialism." (p. 39) "'With its perspective of legally elected peoples' front governments'", FOSTER concludes..."it is simply absurd to charge, as the Prosecution is doing here, that the Communist program was one of advocating force and violence.'" (p. 40)

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He further explains FOSTER's theory by stating that FOSTER's application of the "united front" proposed the election of a democratic government based on a broad united front coalition, thus FOSTER's projected "democratic government" would be essentially similar to the administrations of ROOSEVELT and TRUMAN, but would differ through a new party organization which would result in the election of a party such as the new Progressive Party in the United States.

He further writes that FOSTER and DENNIS, General Secretary, CP-USA, seemed to contradict each other, since DENNIS says that the task of the new government is not that of breaking the power of monopoly and transition to socialism, and FOSTER states that it is the task of the new government and that this is the only significance of such a government. He says that the two contradictory statements are both essential features of FOSTER's "new route to Socialism" and that the following general characteristics must be drawn from FOSTER's new theory:

"(1) The introduction of Socialism in America is no longer to be considered the task of the Communist Party, but is handed over to the new Progressive Party.

"(2) The new Progressive Party will not campaign for election to office on a platform of Socialism, but, on the contrary, will specifically declare that Socialism is not its task. Its electoral struggles will not, therefore, be a mobilization of the masses for Socialism.

"(3) 'Once in office', however, WALLACE and the Progressive Party are expected, for purposes of survival, to transform the government into a specific American form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to break the power of monopoly capital, and introduce Socialism into America.

"(4) The process of transition to Socialism is a spontaneous product of meeting and solving problems from moment to moment, and any honest democratic body of men, such as WALLACE and the Progressive Party, must inevitably evolve into Socialism, regardless of their ideology and the program under which they gained office, and must become practically indistinguishable from Communists. Thus the problem of electoral struggle is purely and simply one of electing honest men.

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"(5) The apparatus of government (President, Congress, Courts, Armed Forces, police, administrative departments, etc.) constitutes such a completely independent power that it can undertake, (when occupied by Progressives) on its own account, a complete and fundamental change in the social and economic system, from motives of its own survival, and without winning the masses in a struggle for power against the old ruling class.

"(6) The decisive role in bringing Socialism is, therefore, not played by the workingclass, which is called upon only to elect a non-Socialist petty-bourgeois government, and then to support it unquestioningly when that government decides to turn Socialist. The decisive role falls, consequently, to a small minority of exceptionally clever men who can foresee and manipulate this complicated indirect process.

"(7) The direct mass struggle for socialism has become unnecessary and outmoded, since FOSTER has discovered a way to smuggle Socialism into existence, through the processes of bourgeois legality, thereby avoiding all the difficult and painful processes and problems to which MARX and his great disciples gave most of their attention.

"FOSTER's new theory, his 'new route to Socialism', is thus seen to be the most primitive, and most complete system of revision of Marxism in the name of MARX, that has ever been presented in the history of Socialist thought."

BROWDER, under the heading "FOSTER's New Theory of 'Correspondence' Between Capitalism and Socialism", states that FOSTER, in his pamphlet, considered "The Uneven Development of the Struggle for Socialism" of basic importance, giving it a place of honor in his pamphlet. He writes that the central thought of this theory is contained in the following phrase: "The uneven development of capitalism brings about a corresponding uneven development of the struggle for Socialism."

The subject further refers to FOSTER's new theory by referring to the introduction to Section 3 of FOSTER's pamphlet wherein FOSTER stated: "Now I will refute basically the Prosecution's charge that we American Communists are trying to bring about in the United States a fac-simile of the Russian Revolution."



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BROWDER states in reference to the above that it is, of course, important to refute the charge that the American Communists are trying blindly to copy the Russian Revolution, but that it is unfortunate that this aim has been tied to FOSTER's new "law" so that if one rejects the validity of the "law", he will be charged by FOSTER with joining hands with the Prosecution, and if one accepts the validity of FOSTER's new "law", then everything that he ever learned from MARX and LENIN must be abandoned. He states that never until FOSTER's present work had the theory ever been put forth openly that the uneven development of the struggle for Socialism is brought about by, and corresponds to, the uneven development of capitalism, and this "law of correspondence" is the unique discovery of FOSTER.

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"It must be admitted that the theory has a use-value for FOSTER. It furnishes the Communist leader in America with an immediate and automatic explanation for all the defeats and setbacks which the movement suffers under his leadership, and proves that in the broad historical view these are merely the result of the high development of American capitalism, and not at all of the stupidity and mistakes of the Communist leader."

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The subject at the conclusion of this sub-head states: "FOSTER's new theories, the 'new route to Socialism', the 'law of correspondence between capitalism and socialism,' and all the rest, are flatly contradictory to Marxism in all its aspects, from practical politics to philosophy. They express the theory of spontaneity, which begins with the unconditional assertion of the power of the individual human will (expressed by FOSTER in grandiose boasting, and the assertion of his personal authority into the broadest fields, in which he is woefully lacking in preparation) but it ends up, always and inevitably, in the most servile abasement before 'objective conditions' - - in politics as a tail to the kite of the bourgeoisie, even when most loudly mouthing verbal defiances, as in the present Trial, and in philosophy as a retreat even behind the mechanical materialism of the 18th century, to the fatalism of the middle ages."

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Under the sub-head, "The Theory of Spontaneity Vs. Marxism-Leninism", BROWDER writes that it must be noted that FOSTER also gives direct and explicit expression to the theory of spontaneity, the theory that the movement toward Socialism spontaneously and automatically emerges from material conditions and the class struggle. He further states that there is no doubt that these explicit statements of the theory of spontaneity by FOSTER, and the implicit presence of the same theory as the underlying foundation of his "new route to Socialism" and his "law of correspondence" accurately give the measure of FOSTER's understanding of the development of Socialism. He states that almost 50 years previously a spokesman for Marxism, criticizing a draft program which put forward the theory of spontaneity, wrote a refutation of it which became a Marxist classic. He refers to the author of this refutation as KARL KAUTSKY.

Subject writes that the support of the Progressive Party because of the advisability and need of achieving some practical task before the transition to Socialism can be defended within the framework of Marxist theory. Whether this procedure is correct or not depends not upon theory but upon the practical judgment whether such tasks are necessary and such support will achieve its goal. He states, however, that FOSTER's denial that the Progressive Party can achieve any desirable end short of the transition to Socialism, and his support of the Progressive Party with the expressed aim of making it the vehicle for the achievement of Socialism, constitutes a fundamental rupture with Marxism.

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He further writes: "FOSTER's pitiful effort to 'improve' and 'extend' the theories of MARX and LENIN with his own improvised theories, is an expression of his own helplessness and incapacity in face of the great historical tasks of the working class in America. Having no scientific understanding to guide him, he turns instinctively to blind reliance on spontaneity, and all failures which it brings to him and the Party he dominates he ascribes, not to his own lack of understanding of Marxism and consequent ineptness of leadership, but to 'unfavorable objective conditions.' FOSTER's ideology is not that of MARX and LENIN; it is that of BAKUNIN, MOST, and SOREL, mixed up with that of BERNSTEIN and the later KAUTSKY."

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Under the sub-head, "FOSTER's Revisionist Theory of State Power", BROWDER writes that one of the clearest characteristics of FOSTER's new pamphlet is its anti-Marxist, revisionist, theory of State power, and that FOSTER assigns to the Progressive Party the task of introducing Socialism in America, which task it is expected to assume only after it has won office in elections. He writes that this means FOSTER's theory of State power considers either that the State power inheres in the small body of men who occupy government offices, or that the State power is something standing above classes, evolving according to its own internal laws. He writes that FOSTER makes it clear that his previous understanding of the problem, which reduced the whole problem of replacing bourgeois with working class rule to one of securing "legally elected governmental majorities", was the same concept given its foremost expression by KARL KAUTSKY, when he had become a revisionist. He states that this is the concept which LENIN described as nothing but the purest and most vulgar opportunism. He further writes that FOSTER cannot understand the Marxian doctrine of State power because his mind is so narrowly limited within the confines of the class struggle between employer and worker, which is his horizon beyond which he sees nothing.

Under the sub-head, "Did FOSTER's Revisionism Originate in the Comintern's Seventh World Congress?", BROWDER states that FOSTER has disclaimed for himself the sole and exclusive authorship of the new theories expounded by him in his pamphlet, stating that they were first developed in embryo in the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern. BROWDER states that this is not true and that, on the contrary, the Seventh Congress in advance repudiated FOSTER's interpretation of its work, foreseeing such tendencies would appear. He further writes that FOSTER's re-writing of the political history of the Seventh World Congress was a preliminary to his re-interpretation of the history of the New Democracies and their inauguration of the transition to Socialism, and that both are equally false, opportunist, and revisionist.

Under the heading, "FOSTER's Revisionist Explanation of the New Democracies", the subject writes:

"In the previous chapter we have proved conclusively that FOSTER misinterprets and misrepresents the Seventh World Congress and the nature of its new tactical orientation, giving

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"it a revisionist twist against which the Congress itself had specifically warned. It is now necessary to show that FOSTER equally misrepresents the character and course of development of the New Democracies and that his new theories find no more support there than in the Seventh Congress."

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"FOSTER's distorted interpretation would lead us to believe that the governments of the New Democracies were set up as non-socialist governments, and that they evolved into socialist governments after achieving power ('once in office' is FOSTER's classic phrase!) on a non-socialist platform. That is stuff and nonsense! Every one of them was socialist in specific declaration of intention from the beginning, and their evolution related not at all to aim, but only as to the issue of the tempo of transition. (And by the way, even the first post-war governments of Italy and France were socialist by declaration of their platforms, but were subverted and changed by conspiracy between American reaction and the hidden national enemies of socialism.)

"The new governments were not created by peaceful, parliamentary means; they arose from victory in a violent and bloody struggle, waged not only against the invading Nazis and fascists, but also against their quislings, who included the bulk of the national big bourgeoisie and landlords in each country. The new democracies represent 'the peaceful transition to Socialism', therefore, only in the special sense that when the new governments were finally established this guaranteed the possibility of immediate transition to Socialism without civil war, because the enemies of Socialism no longer had strength to wage civil war. What a contrast this is with the picture FOSTER draws, which has only the most superficial relation to reality!

"The socialist character of the new governments was not determined, as FOSTER maintains, as an expedient to maintain themselves in power. It is not true, as FOSTER says, that 'these united front, or peoples' front movements, while generally not yet ready to fight for Socialism (my emphasis, EB), were determined to fight for the establishment of anti-fascist, anti-war governments.' (p. 38) Not only were the workers, and the masses in general, ready to fight for Socialism, but

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"they conducted this fight so militantly that all parties which wished to maintain mass influence (even the Catholic parties, under control of the Vatican!) were compelled to pay lip service to Socialism, and commit themselves to Socialist programs in order not to find themselves isolated and powerless. It was only after they received aid from America, that these lip-service 'Socialists' gained the courage to come out openly against Socialism. The Socialist character of the new governments was established by the masses and imposed by them. It was the mass struggle for Socialism, not palace conspiracies, parliamentary combinations, or 'evolution' for reasons of expediency of non-socialists, that made the decision for Socialism in the new Democracies. It was not a 'new route' in FOSTER's sense, it was in all essential features the same road which had been charted by Marxism for a hundred years."

Under the heading, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It", the subject writes:

"The Communist Party should be in the forefront in the practical instruction of the masses, and their practical leadership in action, beginning with and emphasizing what can be done now, today, under the existing system, and leading toward the fundamental solution which can come only with Socialism in America. That should have been the main body, and the moving spirit, of the defense in the Communist Trial, and in FOSTER's book which directs the Trial and the whole work of the Communist Party. Instead, there is only the incoherence of FOSTER's revisionist theories, a welter of words and legal technicalities, out of which no worker can gather anything but confusion, practical as well as theoretical.

"The threat to peace today is contained in the 'cold war' that has divided the world into two camps, in American armaments and the arming of satellites, and in the imminent economic crisis which is hastened and deepened by the cold war. The workers, and people generally, must be told the fact that growth of unemployment, the rise in the cost of living, the whole threatening economic crisis, is the direct result of the cold war. They must be told that economic crisis, and the war scare, can be fended off, pushed away, only by making peace and restoring world trade to a normal basis."

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"It is such objective steps toward Socialism in America which FOSTER opposes, when he rejects the market program of ROOSEVELT, because, forsooth, it would strengthen the development of monopoly capital in American economy as a whole.

"Of course, while the Marxist teaching on this question excludes all tendencies in the direction of a trust-busting program (which is the petty-bourgeois form of anti-imperialism), it does not follow therefrom that the Marxists must support any and every measure that hastens the development of monopoly capital. In fact, it may be necessary to oppose some or most of them, especially where they have a clearly defined reactionary character, or because of their surrounding circumstances. But, where, as in America today, the country is confronted with two possible economic policies (within the framework of capitalism), one of which is boldly and flagrantly reactionary (the cold war) and the other would advance peace and combat economic crisis with serious effect, (the ROOSEVELT policy), then, to refuse to fight for the more progressive policy against its alternative, merely because it also (and even more effectively) hastens the development of monopoly capital, constitutes an abandonment of Marxism for petty-bourgeois, Utopian Socialism, or even goes back to the Populism of BRYAN. And that is exactly what FOSTER does.

"Some years ago, FOSTER wrote a book which he called 'From BRYAN to STALIN'. His present work could appropriately be entitled 'From STALIN to BRYAN' - - except for the fact that FOSTER never understood the theories of MARK, ENGELS, LENIN and STALIN. Since FOSTER was never a Marxist except by 'profession of faith', he cannot be accused of 'departing' from Marxism; with him personally the matter has always been one of his more or less open non-Marxist or anti-Marxist opinions, and his egoistic striving for personal dominance in the Marxist movement.

"But with regard to the Party which FOSTER is now leading, the case is different. It was a Marxist party. But if it now accepts FOSTER's new theories, which are only a new version of a very old opportunism, the Party thereby ceases to be Marxist, and becomes Kautskyist - - with a strong admixture of anarcho-syndicalism."

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BROWDER concludes his pamphlet with the following:

"The Party, while it is controlled and directed by FOSTER's confused anti-scientific opportunist theories, cannot lead the masses either in their immediate struggles or in their education in Socialism. The repudiation of the 'New Route to Socialism' is the first necessary step to restore a party of Marxism in America."

The subject, on the last page of the pamphlet, in an open letter to the National Committee, CP-USA, dated March 23, 1949, refers to an article which appeared in the "New York Post" of March 22, 1949 to the effect that an unknown member of the legal staff handling the defense of the Communist leaders was quoted as saying that they expected the government to introduce EARL BROWDER as a witness against the Communist Party in the attempt to outlaw the same. BROWDER states that this constitutes a particularly stupid libel against him in that immediately after the indictment, he had offered his services to the defense in any capacity in which he might be used, including that of a defense witness, and that knowing such fact, he asked why the Communist Party did not give circulation to the falsehood of the article published in the "New York Post" and the implications that arose from it. He also states that he, at that time, stood ready to testify for the defense if his services were desired and that he requested the Party to put a stop to the sponsorship of such slanders as were published in the article above referred to.

An article appeared in the "New York Times" of December 3, 1950, summarizing the proceedings against the subject and referring to former prison terms served by him.

This article states that the subject, 59 years of age, former head of the CP-USA, has served two prison terms, the first being from 1919 to 1920, on a charge of sedition in opposing American entry into World War I, the second from 1940 to 1941 for passport irregularities. The article also refers to the recent indictment of a Federal Grand Jury charging BROWDER with Contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions of the Senate Sub-Committee. It refers to BROWDER's statement made at the time of his arraignment to the effect that he was unable to make a \$1,500 bond. The article also



NY 100-25693

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quotes Mrs. BROWDER, subject's wife, as having told reporters that her husband, who had formerly been employed as a Soviet book agent after his expulsion from the Communist Party in 1946, had been unemployed for two years, stating "we have nothing but debts, debts, debts." This article also stated that the subject planned to serve as his own attorney.

The records of the Bureau of Special Services and Investigation, New York City Police Department, failed to disclose any further information of value regarding the subject.

Confidential Informants T-6, T-7, T-8, T-9, T-10, T-11 and T-12, all of whom are familiar with Communist activities in the New York area, could give no further information of value regarding the subject herein. (X) (u)

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

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This office was advised by letter dated December 11, 1950 from the Washington Field Office, in the above entitled matter, that the "Washington Evening Star", a daily newspaper, Washington, D. C., in an article on page 2a of its issue for December 8, 1950, reported that the landlady of Miss MARGARET M. SHIPMAN, [REDACTED], advised that Miss SHIPMAN received a telephone call from BROWDER on the afternoon of December 7, 1950, advising her that he was leaving Washington, D. C. on the five o'clock train for New York to join his family.

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It should be noted in this connection that Miss SHIPMAN, above referred to, was the person who made the \$1,500 bond required for subject's release.

Confidential Informant T-4, of known reliability, advised that on February 10, 1946, STEVE NELSON, a Communist Party functionary, attended a meeting at the Hotel Sterling, Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, which was a joint meeting of the leaders of the International Workers Order and certain members of the Communist Party. (X)(u)

NELSON is reported as having pointed out that the Party was going to have a good deal of trouble with EARL BROWDER, and he thought there was a good chance of BROWDER's writing an expose on the Party. He stated that he knew that BROWDER was gathering material and would make an effort to publish it. NELSON is also reported to have said that the Communist Party was increasing in strength all over the world except in the United States where it had been going backward. He attributed the failure of the Communist Party in the United States to make gains was due to the reactionary policies of EARL BROWDER. (X)(u)

JAY DAVID WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, self-admitted espionage agent and former editor of "Time" magazine, has advised that GEORGE HARRISON was the brother-in-law of EARL BROWDER and had been married to BROWDER's sister, MARGARET, and that they were now separated. He said that GEORGE HARRISON had formerly been with the International Workers Order and later joined the Communist Party.

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JOHN PLADUN, upon examination by EDWARD P. EMANUEL, Acting Immigration Inspector, at Toronto, Canada, on May 13, 1949, stated that upon his return from Canada he stopped in New York City and EARL BROWDER gave him money enough for transportation to Toronto. (u)

ELIZABETH TERRILL BENTLEY, a courier for JACOB N. GOLOS, a Russian espionage agent, has advised that during the time she was associated with GOLOS, he established a shipping firm for the purpose of forwarding packages to the USSR, and had secured a backing of \$15,000 from EARL BROWDER. She also advised that shortly before the death of GOLOS, BROWDER turned over to him a number of contacts in Washington, D. C., who furnished him information from the government's files. She also stated that during this period she was placed in contact with a person known only as "CATHERINE", and following the death of GOLOS she was contacted by this person, who asked for the identity of the contacts used by GOLOS. She stated that she had refused to comply with this request and brought the matter to the attention of EARL BROWDER, who told her not to divulge these names, but subsequently instructed her to make the identity of these individuals available to this person.

Miss BENTLEY has also advised that BROWDER was peeved about the manner in which he had been treated by the present leaders of the Communist Party who superseded him. She stated that she did not think he would turn against the Party by reporting any of its activities to the government, since he still hoped that some day he might rise to the high position he once held in the Party.

This individual has advised that she first met BROWDER during August 1942 and continued to see him until the Spring of 1945, that upon the instructions of GOLOS she had made carbon copies of some of the data in possession of GOLOS available to BROWDER upon his release from prison, and continued to allow him to view intelligence data being collected by her. She stated that immediately following the death of GOLOS, she turned over to BROWDER between eleven and twelve thousand dollars she had found among his effects. She stated that GOLOS had previously instructed her to make this disposition of any

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money that she found in the office safe after his death. She stated that she also gave him an additional \$3,000 which GOLOS had given her in 1942 with no instructions as to its disposition. She stated in this connection that BROWDER had been interested only in domestic and international data of a social, political and economic nature, and was not interested in any material pertaining to military matters, and had often stated that he did not want to become involved in espionage.

[Confidential Informant T-5, of known reliability,] (X)(u) advised during May 1932 that EARL BROWDER was summoned to Moscow to answer certain charges of difficulties that had arisen within the CP-USA. Informant said that while seated in the rear of the meeting room, he heard BROWDER personally criticized by STALIN and others, particularly on the Far Eastern question. He was criticized for using the slogan, "Japanese Yellow Imperialism". BROWDER was instructed to correct his previous errors on the Far East and to link up his work with the decisions of the Communist International with reference to the Institute of Pacific Relations. Some of the Russian leaders considered the Institute of Pacific Relations as the most effective weapon for exposing American and British imperialism in Asia.

The Bureau by letter to New York dated December 13, 1950 re "The Richard Sorge Case, Espionage-R", enclosed a photostatic copy of information furnished to the Bureau by G-2 on November 22, 1950. [This material included information regarding the subject which was obtained from the files of the Shanghai Municipal Police.] (X)(u)

It appears from a review of the available material regarding the subject herein that the substance of same has previously been reported in subject's case file. This material will be further reviewed and the Bureau requested to obtain copies of any pertinent information of an evidentiary value not in the possession of this office. (X)(u)

[Confidential Informant T-2] stated that her only contact with the subject since the date of the last report was during the Christmas holidays when she talked to him by

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NY 100-25693

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (Cont'd)

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telephone. She stated that he then stated that he was unemployed and expressed bitterness against the present Communist Party leaders. He stated in this connection that he would like to see the informant, and she stated that she would contact him when she was in New York City, but had not yet had an opportunity of doing so. Informant also stated that she would be glad to cooperate with this office by furnishing any further information she might have regarding the subject.

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LEADS

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow the subject's activities through continued contact with confidential informants of this office.

Will continue to follow the subject's activities through the "Daily Worker" and other Communist publications, including pamphlets that may be published by the subject.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The identities of the Confidential Informants mentioned in the report of SA J. ROBINSON FIELD, dated at New York, March 9, 1951, are as follows:

T-1

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] This individual's name is being protected by a temporary symbol by reason of the nature of his services.

T-2

[REDACTED]

b7D

T-3

[REDACTED] contacted by SA RICHARD T. CLANCY.

T-4

Confidential Informant [REDACTED]

b7D

T-5

[REDACTED] as furnished to [REDACTED] New York City, in an affidavit dated [REDACTED]

b7D

T-6

[REDACTED] contacted by SA RICHARD T. CLANCY.

T-7

[REDACTED] contacted by SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY.

T-8

[REDACTED] contacted by SA RICHARD T. CLANCY.

T-9

[REDACTED] contacted by SA RICHARD T. CLANCY.

T-10

[REDACTED] contacted by SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY.

T-11

[REDACTED] contacted by SA EDWARD W. BUCKLEY.

T-12

[REDACTED] contacted by SA RICHARD T. CLANCY.

REFERENCE: Report of SA J. ROBINSON FIELD, New York, 7/31/50.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~